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ABSTRACT
The Caltech political military exercise (PME) is a game in which players assume roles of leaders of various countries and attempt to act as they think these leaders would in a time of international crises. The main purposes of the exercise are (1) to provide students with an experience in crisis diplomacy and policy formation, and (2) to provide a case study of "crisis" in group dynamics. Rules for the game are flexibly designed to permit creativity on the part of the players, who are assigned to roles on the basis of their leadership qualities and their knowledge of the country in which the game is to be played. A PME committee is responsible for providing the framework within which the game is played. The framework involves a political crises that determines the initial actions of the PME, a scenaric that bridges the span from current time to the time of the crisis, and a complement of teams to play the PME. A control board, on which the success of the game depends, keeps the game running smoothly and represents groups such as ambassadors, spies, and unrepresented countries that are not represented in the game. In 1967, Caltech experimented with a double game that required 2 control boards and dealt with the international aspect of previous games and the complexities of internal US decision-making. The document describes this game, some of the difficulties encountered, and how it differs from previous games. (WM)

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THE CALTECH POLITICAL MILITARY EXERCISE

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DIVISION OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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PREFACE

The material in this manual will serve effectively for role-playing games in advanced high school and collegiate institutions. Local experience in gaming will undoubtedly lead to individual modifications that adjust the technique to the needs and goals of differing institutions.

The particular game on which this material is based was revised and modified in a number of significant ways from previous games at the California Institute of Technology. Rules and organization were clarified so that more of the individual parts, as well as the overall direction, of the game were in student hands. The number of teams was increased to give more people a chance to play and also to involve domestic considerations. Message forms and communications generally were improved.

It should be emphasized that "prediction" is not a goal of the type of game outlined in this manual. It is true that real life events in the four years since the first Caltech game have followed, to a remarkable extent, the pattern suggested by that game as played out. The coming of the Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the ineffectiveness of British pressure, the economic support of Rhodesia by South Africa, the relative lack of guerrilla activity between Zambia and Rhodesia, and the development of larger scale para-military operations in northern Mozambique, were all anticipated in that game. But this manual should never be expected to produce a game with prediction values. However, it might in the playing suggest a potential line of action as being possible which had not occurred to students of the real world situation.

There are a host of additional factors which may be added to the type of game which is described in the following pages. For example, the introduction of economic factors with a data bank and the extensive use of computers offers a rich field of exploration and stimulation for players. In another field, the testing and selection of players on the basis of various personality types, and the correlation of results when the game is sufficiently replicated, opens up a wide field of socio-psychological study.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Caltech political military exercise (PME) is a relatively unstructured "game" in which players take the roles of leaders of various countries and attempt to act as they think these leaders would in a time of international crisis. The exercise's major purposes are:

(1) To provide the participants with an experience in crisis diplomacy and policy formation.

(2) To provide a case study of a "crisis" in group dynamics.

Players' actions are restricted only by what the player sees as the pressures in real life on the person he (she) plays (elections, personal beliefs, commitments to other groups, etc.). With this exception each player is expected to be as creative as possible.

II. PRE-PME PLANNING

A PME committee, preferably knowledgeable and/or experienced in the political realities that affect the area of the world in which the game action will center, must be responsible for providing the framework within which the game will be played. This framework consists primarily of three things: a political crisis that determines the initial actions of the PME, a scenario that bridges the span from current time to the time of the crisis, and a complement of teams to play the PME.

1. Crisis. The game's starting point must be common for all participating teams. Thus, they have to be "transported" from real-world time to some future time at which the game takes place. This jump into the future permits the PME committee to set the crisis in the terms it wants. (For example, the crisis may be an overt military act of one country against another that was made possible only by a series of hypothetical diplomatic, military, and economic actions by various countries in the time from the present to that of the game.)

2. Scenario. To bring all groups to a common starting point, the organizers write a summary of hypothetical (but perfectly plausible, if not likely) events covering the period from the present (in Caltech's 1967 PME, April 2, 1967, the date of the exercise) to that at which

the PME begins (June 20, 1968). This scenario must be written in such a manner that all extraneous crises are removed from the game. For example, a game about the United States involvement in South West Africa must settle or de-emphasize in some manner the Vietnam war or the United States team will understandably concentrate its efforts on the war.

3. Teams. On the basis of the initial scenario and the potential solutions to the crisis, teams are chosen to represent the nations and domestic groups most likely to be heavily involved. Care must be taken to avoid choosing groups that remain outside the mainstream of the game. Team members may experience boredom at times, and to relieve this situation, they may introduce extraneous issues.

a. Roles and players. Within each team, roles (representing major leaders who would be involved in determining the team's external policies) are selected by the organizing committee. The more important teams are given more members to simulate real-world strengths. For example, the United States usually has more players than South Africa or Portugal, and individual African nations are generally limited to one or two players.

Players are generally assigned to roles on the basis of their knowledge of the country and area in which the game is to be played and their leadership qualities. A person is sometimes assigned a role directly opposed to his own beliefs or personality type. If the organizers think that in the course of the PME a nation is likely to split up or cease to function effectively, they may place conflicting personalities into the team's roles. In most cases specific roles are played by people who can simulate the roles well; otherwise the game may depart from its logical course.

b. Team education. Pre-game education begins after the teams are formed and the players selected for their roles. Each team's education consists of two parts:

(1) Reference materials on the crisis area--its political and military strengths, and social and economic structure.

(2) Reference materials of relevant books for each team. The PME committee must be careful to provide no more reference material than can be read in the time available to the players. In an academic setting, the game may be best scheduled to follow a between-semester or quarter vacation.

III. PLAYING THE GAME

The scenario leading up to the crisis is first revealed to the team members at the beginning of the PME. The players all read it, after which they retire to private rooms from which they play the game. Policies are carried out by way of written messages sent to other groups.

A. GAME PERIOD

The game is not played in one long stretch, but in one- or two-hour game periods over the course of a weekend. Recapitulation of action in the preceding game period helps groups keep in touch with the whole game and remain up to date in their actions. The scenario is updated throughout the game period.

Between game periods players may not talk to players from other teams. This prevents revelation of either "state secrets" or false "secrets."

B. CONTROL BOARD

Throughout the PME, a control board (which may or may not be the PME organizing committee) keeps the game running smoothly and logically. It acts on behalf of all unrepresented groups (spies, ambassadors, internal dissension, unrepresented countries) that could not, for reason of space or available players, be individually represented in the game. It rules on the plausibility of team actions. It insures the simulation of imperfect knowledge (a leader often makes decisions with an inadequate set of facts) and deliberately leaks occasional state secrets. In general, the control board makes each team live with the consequences of its actions. To perform these many functions the control board must see all messages sent and be privy to all intergroup communications. The control board must be omniscient.

If the control board does not function properly, the game will not either. Consequently, it must be staffed and structured with care. Its core group consists of two or three people who are extremely knowledgeable about the crisis, its location, and the relationship of most of the world in the area. A typist is attached to the group to type messages. The rest of the board consists of people concerned with the transfer of messages, the auditing of meetings, and the reporting of international and domestic news. One person also acts as filing agent, filing one copy of every message sent by players. This allows the board to refer quickly to the whole input and output of a team in order to gain a general picture of its actions or to refer to a specific point.

Control board interaction with groups. In each group's private room there is a telephone that is used only for calling messengers. No group member may leave the room during a policy-making period without control board approval. All communications between groups must be in writing and sent on a printed form by a messenger, who first takes the group's message to the control board; after approval of the message, he continues to his destination. In special cases, permission for face-to-face meeting can be granted by the control board.

C. COMMUNICATIONS

Communications may be in three forms: written messages, audited conferences, and news.

1. Written messages. Written messages must be on forms that incorporate some duplicating device like carbon paper. The originating team keeps a copy and sends two to the control board (which sends one on to the recipient). In the case of multiple recipients, electrostatic copies are made by the control board.

When a message is ready, the team phones for a messenger to take the form to the control board. The control board files a copy and having judged on the credibility of the message, sends it to the recipient. To maintain a free-flowing game the board must perform its tasks with speed and accuracy.

a. Secrecy. Each team marks the degree of secrecy on the message form (open, covert, top secret). The higher the level of secrecy, the less chance there is of a leak and the longer it takes to be distributed. Messages are leaked on an impartial random basis that corresponds to the probability for the level marked. United States to United Kingdom messages rarely leak, but Malawi to Ghana may leak, even in the secret category.

b. Extent of communications. Different countries have different potentials in communication, both in volume and speed. To simulate this the control board will accept only typewritten messages, and the number of typewriters assigned to a group corresponds to its communication potential. (Warning: This will obviously not work if there are not enough competent typists on the team.)

2. Conferences. Applications for face-to-face conferences are made to the control board. If the request is reasonable the board sets a time and place for the meeting and sends an auditor. Meetings are

restricted to five minutes of playing time; this represents several hours of real-world time. Conferences expedite communication between groups that would, in reality, have closer communication than is simulated by the game's message structure.

3. News. During a game period a team would ordinarily be aware only of actions it initiates or is involved in because of other teams' play (analogous to international diplomatic or military actions). A news service operated by the control board provides--periodically during each game period--news summaries comparable to the information that governments receive through unofficial channels.

IV. EVALUATION SESSION

The game should be concluded with an evaluation session at which all players are present. In the Caltech games (1965, 1966, 1967) it was possible to have several behavioral scientists moving as observers from team to team to analyze the group dynamics. Their evaluation can be quite interesting to the players, who get an impartial evaluation of how their roles were played--and to the organizers, who discover changes in the game procedure that should be made. Other observers and guests may be invited to make their comments on the game. Finally, the leaders of the teams deliver short talks to indicate what the goals and actions of their groups were. These talks provide a much broader view of the game for all players than could be seen during play. Often the players discover that their concepts of what the stumbling blocks were in the game were erroneous, with the problem area being, for instance, not the control board but the government of some country.

It is important to realize that the PME operates within a very loose framework that provides great leeway for the organizing committee to tailor the rules of play to fit the particular circumstances of the institution sponsoring it. The rules that the Caltech PME used--even though they may seem specific at points--are designed to permit maximum challenge to the creativity of the players. Rules are primarily to expedite the movement of messages in a simulated world. Once the crisis is set, the play--although perhaps predictable--is limited only by what could happen physically and logically.

The institution sponsoring the PME should view it as an evolving process; a second game will surely be better than the first, and a third game may be more complex as additional factors are introduced (see Appendix A for a description of a double game, using both domestic and international scenarios and control boards). In fact, the PME can be applied to almost any kind of crisis that a group is concerned with.

APPENDIX A: VARIATIONS AND PROBLEMS IN THE 1967 PME

A. VARIATION OF THE PME STRUCTURE

In 1967 an experiment was tried with a game that contained both the international aspect of previous games and the complexities of internal American decision-making. This task involved an expanded scenario that gave relevant domestic news in addition to the international news. The American game had its own control board, because most of the communication arising in the American game remained in that segment. In effect, two games were played simultaneously around similar crises and time periods. Three of the American teams also played in the international game: the U. S. Presidential, the State Department, and the CIA. All messages flowing from one game to the other passed through both control boards. Each game had its own news service; however, the two cooperated so that each received information from the other.

A double game involves an additional basic requirement over the single game. The two games must not only cover the same time periods, but they must run at the same tempo. One of the great virtues of the Caltech PME when it is played as a single game is its capacity for improvisation. Normally the tempo of the game alters to meet its internal needs. However, in a double game this virtue can become a vice. Despite all the best efforts of the two control boards, the American game had a slightly slower tempo, which left it a short distance behind the international game. The two control boards tried to maintain similar tempos over the same periods through frequent conferences between game periods and through joint efforts at the writing of subsequent scenarios; however, it must be emphasized that this was cooperation between two relatively autonomous groups.

B. FACILITIES FOR THE PME

PME '67 was held in a four-floor building on the Caltech campus. The American game occupied offices on the second and third floors, while the international game was held in the basement and first floor. Each team's room had a phone, the allowed number of typewriters, and, initially, 40 to 50 message forms. The 18 teams could use phones to call for more forms or to request one of the 30 messengers from the messenger service. The average team sent 170 messages during the game.

Both control boards contained a core group of two faculty, one student, and a filing clerk. Each had at its disposal a Xerox and a ditto machine and a news service. Each news service was composed of three students with access to a ditto machine and a public address system. The American PA system had speakers in all American groups and the international news service; the international PA system went through all international groups, the State Department, the CIA, and domestic news. The American news service made its reports on the PA system every thirty minutes, with special editions when called for. The international news service primarily issued printed news, with written summaries approximately every 45 minutes. Core members of the control boards passed relevant messages to the news services, but final composition was left to the news service.

C. DIFFICULTIES WITH THE 1967 PME

1. Size. With the volume of communications that the Caltech PME had, limitations on the size of the game and the number of players were imposed. About 12 groups can play a single game of the Caltech variety, or about 18 can play the double game. Even so, the sudden onrush of messages at the beginning of each game period overwhelmed the control boards and temporarily left them running 5 to 10 minutes behind the game.

2. Playing against control. In the heat of the game, players frequently fail to realize both the service function and the neutral nature of a board. They consider the control board to be another team that must be defeated or played with. Teams that are doing poorly (in their own estimation) sometimes blame the control board when their own ineptitude or the skill of another team is the cause. This problem can be reduced by reminding the players of the real function of the control board and by having short conferences with teams that begin to play against control.

3. Veterans and recruits. Members of the Caltech community have played in the PMEs for three years; consequently, certain individuals are very capable of functioning under PME stress and know some of the fine points of the game which only experience can teach. More than half of the 1967 PME's 100 participants had played before. Groups with old-timers react with more efficiency and speed, and a conscious effort was made to place those individuals who had shown marked ability at role playing into leadership positions in their teams. However, veterans are often too skillful for the game, having an unfair advantage over the inexperienced players and the overworked control boards. For example, the student playing Ethiopia and the Organization for African Unity military commander in 1967 used his experience so much to his advantage that the whole game shifted in the

favor of the OAU. Such a situation may not have occurred if a less experienced individual had been in that position.

4. Effect of personalities. Under the pressure that characterized this game, some of the players were less than rational. Personality differences caused a few arguments. Some faculty members refused to take instructions or requests from students and divided teams into hostile camps; extreme care must be taken in the selection of faculty, for their status as teachers can be divisive.

5. A word of warning. The only reasons that the double game functioned well at all are:

(1) The prior experience of its participants with single Caltech PMEs;

(2) The refinement in each game's structure by experience;

(3) The ability of the members of the control boards to make minor but essential alterations in the game in order to expedite the message flow.

Double games should be played only after some experience with single games. It is hoped that the Caltech experience will minimize difficulties in other games patterned on PME '67. Despite the difficulties with the double game, the majority of the participants indicated that they wanted PME '68 on the Middle East to be a double game again.

APPENDIX B: TEAMS AND ROLES

CALTECH PME 1967

A. INTERNATIONAL GAME

1. United Kingdom
   - Prime Minister Wilson
   - Foreign Minister Brown
   - Defense Minister Healey
   - Chancellor of the Exchequer Callaghan
   - Commonwealth Relations Secretary Bottomley
   - Opposition leader Heath

2. USSR
   - Prime Minister Kosygin
   - First Secretary of C. O. Brezhnev
   - Foreign Minister Gromyko
   - Defense Minister Malinovsky
   - Member of Presidium Shalepin

3. People's Republic of China
   - Mao Tse Tung
   - Premier Chou En Lai
   - Chairman of Republic of China Liu Shao Chi
   - Lin Piao
   - Foreign Minister Chen Yi

4. France
   - President de Gaulle
   - Premier Pompidou
   - Foreign Minister Couve de Murville

5. Portugal
   - Prime Minister Salazar
   - Minister of Pres. Dr. Velga
   - Defense Minister Gen. Arango
   - Foreign Minister Moqueira
   - Minister of Overseas Provinces Da Silva Lunha
   - Minister of National Economy De Oliveira
   - Special advisor to the P. M.

6. South Africa
   - Prime Minister Vorster
   - Foreign Minister Muller
   - Defense Minister Botha
   - Economics Minister Nico Diederichs
   - Opposition leader Graaff
   - Administrator of South West Africa Du Plessis
   - Assistant to the head of state

7. Rhodesia
   - Prime Minister Ian Smith
   - Roger Howman
   - Defense Minister Du Pont
   - Harper
   - Ambassador to South Africa Gaunt

8. Organization of African Unity
   - Zambia's Kaunda
     - asst. Kapepwe
   - Tanzania's Nyerere
   - Kenya's Kenyatta
     - asst. Murumbi
   - Malawi's Banda
   - Ethiopia's Haile Selassie
     - asst. Makonnen
   - Nigeria's Gowon
   - Ghana's Ankrah
   - Guinea's Sékou Touré
   - Congo's Mobutu
   - Egypt's Nasser
   - Algeria's Boumediene

B. AMERICAN GAME

1. The President and his immediate advisors
   - President Johnson
   - Other Johnson
   - Roach
   - Rostow
   - Chairman of Council of Economic Advisors Ackley
   - O'Brien
   - Goldberg
   - Hubert Humphrey

2. State Department
   - Rusk
   - Katzenbach
   - Palmer
   - Harriman
   - Rostow
   - European desk - Leddy
   - Secretary of Protocol

3. Defense Department
   - Secretary of Defense McNamara
   - Chief of Staff (Joint Chiefs)
   - Secretary of Navy
   - Undersecretary of Defense

4. Treasury-Commerce
   - Secretary of the Treasury
   - International Monetary Fund Schweitzer
   - Secretary of Commerce
   - Chase Manhattan's David Rockefeller
   - U. S. Steel's Roger Blough
   - U. S. Chamber of Commerce President
   - UAW's Walter Reuther

5. Central Intelligence Agency
   - Director of CIA Richard Helms
   - Assistant Director, Chief of Intelligence Kent
   - Assistant to the Director

6. Civil Rights - South African Exiles
   - PAC's Nana Mahomo
   - ANC's Oliver Tambo
   - Robert Resha
   - CP/ANC's Moses K. Kotane
   - Stokely Carmichael
   - Roy Wilkins
   - Martin Luther King
   - Floyd McKissick
   - Ron Karenga

7. Democrats
   - Kennedy
   - Fulbright
   - Mansfield
   - Senate Armed Services' Russell
   - A. C. Powell
   - House Armed Services' Rivers
   - Long
   - Ribicoff

8. Republicans
   - Dirksen
   - Nixon
   - Romney
   - Percy
   - Ford
   - Ray Bliss

APPENDIX C: BACKGROUND SCENARIO FOR PME '67

The following fictionalized "news headlines" were issued to participants in the international game at the beginning of the game. They constitute the background of events from the time the game was played (April 2, 1967) to the time at which the action was set (June 20, 1968).

1967

April 2	Thailand based Thunderbirds pound Haiphong harbor.
April 23	Africans fail in South West Africa sanctions demand at special UN session; U. S., U. K. oppose, Soviets abstain.
April 26	Mali foreign minister attacks U. S. hypocrisy on South West Africa.
July 14	General de Gaulle reviews French troops returned from Mali.
July 22	Addis Ababa: ECA head Robert Gardiner reports on visit to Swaziland; claims South Africa dominates economy of country on verge of independence. Says he was treated according to protocol on March visit to Johannesburg.
July 24	Record number of Viet Cong defectors reported in June.
Aug 4	Westmoreland announces 30% of delta cleared of Cong.
Aug 14	New peace feelers reported in Ottawa; Pearson flies to see Thant.
Aug 18	Twelve Peace Corps teachers expelled from Tanzania; Nyerere says they spied.
Sept 3	Guerrillas attack Rhodesian police post at Sinoia; driven off.
Sept 18	UN Africans charge Rhodesian tobacco reaching Germany and France through Switzerland.
Sept 27	UN committee charges Union Carbide buying chrome alloy from S. A. commingles with Rhodesian chrome refined in S. A. Company president says possible.
Sept 30	Labour loses Welsh by-election to Welsh Nationalist: Wilson optimistic in Viet Nam peace.
Oct 1	Senator Robert Kennedy supports sanctions against S. A.: reverses previous stand in Cape Town speech.
Oct 2	Zambian economy bolstered by joint U.S. -U.K. loan.
Oct 6	Buddhists charge Ky with illegally jailing 56 civilian politicians.

Oct 8	Johnson announces few new units will be sent to Viet Nam except for replacement.
Oct 14	Fulbright and Kennedy call for suspension of U. S. bombing of North Viet Nam.
Oct 16	Chinese aid mission arrives Dar es Salaam; first group from Peking since Red Guard upheavals.
Oct 19	September casualty figures in Viet Nam lowest in year.
Oct 20	U.S. ship lands sick seamen in Durban. Navy grants shore leave from frigate in reversal of policy.
Oct 21	U.S. seaman stabbed to death in brawl; Negro sailor from Anniston, Alabama, reportedly victim of drunken Zulu.
Oct 22	Floyd McKissick describes Roosevelt Jones' death as a product of the kind of environment created by apartheid. Civil rights leaders to demand U.S. action to protect American boys regardless of race; also to demand sanctions against S.A.
Oct 23	Berkeley students demonstrate at S.A. consulate in San Francisco; scuffle develops, several students arrested.
Oct 30	Smith commutes death sentences on Rhodesian guerrillas.
Nov 4	Rhodesian business delegation finally allowed visit U.S. -- calls for negotiation with justice--admit economy faltering.
Nov 22	U.S. troop strength in Viet Nam now 500,000.
Nov 23	NSA, SNCC, CORE hold Thanksgiving protest against apartheid, U.S. and U.K. involvement in South Africa. 6,000 demonstrate in New York while 8,000 march on Washington.
Nov 27	General Assembly votes to blockade South West Africa coast.
Nov 28	NASA says S.A. tracking station essential but Madrid station taking over more functions for same longitude.
Dec 5	President Johnson greets Wilson for talks on South West Africa. U.S. fleet to hold South Atlantic maneuvers; courtesy call in Rio next week.

Dec 22 — 300 mineworkers leave Zambian copperbelt for Christmas in South Africa; return held unlikely.

1968

Jan 5-9 — Julius Nyerere pays state visit to U.S.; reception at White House.

Jan 10 — Robert Resha, S.A. exile, says that U.S. is a racist society, but pins only hopes for end to apartheid on U.S. intervention in S.A.

Jan 30 — Zambia admits failure to replace departing white mine-workers; copper production falls; africanization suspended; recruiting stepped up for skilled miners from Australia and Wales.

April 1 — Brooke says U.S. must take a moral stand on S.A.

April 26 — Romney comments in Nairobi that socialism in Tanzania is a threat to democracy in Africa. Romney concerned over increasing Chinese Communist presence in Tanzania.

April 27 — Nasser denounces Iranian participation in $100 million Johannesburg refinery; Iranians deny oil reaches Rhodesia.

May 4 — Cape Town: Arab workers in Cape Town Hotel stabbed in bar riot. Chicago Bridge and Iron-Steel admits that 46 skilled Arab technicians have been in S.A. 2 years.

May 4 — RFK repeats request to business leaders to discuss with him better working and living conditions for non-whites in their South African plants.

May 6 — UN Africans criticize Kuwait, Jordan for sending technicians to work in oil storage tanks in Cape Town.

May 7 — Chicago company says no discrimination against Arab workers in S.A. Classified "white" in national interest.

May 8 — Pretoria Finance Minister Diederichs claims South Africa has sufficient oil in storage for 3 years if rationed; says South Africa now owns 5 tankers and assured crude supplies.

May 9	Paris: S.A. talks with France on sale of new gold to bypass London continue.
May 9	London: Labour left backbenchers blast wickedness of apartheid; say Wilson shilly-shallys while human rights are snuffed out.
May 15	UN ships to patrol South West Africa coast; block lucrative fishing; Soviet trawlers withdraw; Johnson says U.S. participation in UN action is limited to peaceful efforts; new units of Sixth Fleet arrive off South West Africa.
May 16	South African press violently hostile to U.S. fleet but S.A. Navy and Air Force not expected to act against UN fleet.
May 18	U.S. confident that firm measures short of war will lead to solution in South West, says Rusk.
May 18	London: Britain will continue trade with South Africa and continue to back UN naval control of fishing waters.
May 21	Gallup poll on U.S. involvement in S.A.: question--should U.S. take stronger action in S.A.? 25% yes, 28% no, 47% no opinion; Negroes: 45% yes, 11% no, 44% no opinion; Whites: 22% yes, 30% no, 48% no opinion--little variance among whites on the basis of party.
May 23	Africa debate continues in Congress.
May 25	Ky government back in power in coup; suspends new constitution; hundreds killed in rioting; Cong control 1/2 of South Viet Nam.
May 30	S.A. reports third sighting of Soviet submarine off Durban. No more frequent sightings than in last 8 years.
June 1	UN committee scorches U.S., U.K. policies in southern Africa; demand is for active intervention to prevent racial holocaust; limited blockade of fishing "catching minnows and letting the whale escape."
June 2	Rhodesian murder attempt; Prime Minister wounded slightly while two bystanders killed as bomb explodes prematurely.
June 11	UN resolution calling on U.S. and U.K. to sever all ties with South Africa; U.S., U.K. abstain.

June 12 — U.S. business leaders demand White House Conference on trade with S.A.

June 13 — Rhodesians refuse Zambian copper train in reaction to new Zambian boycott of Rhodesian goods.

June 14 — 62 die in African race riot; hundreds of Ovambo laborers injured as grenades hurled in Walvis Bay (South West Africa) compound.

June 15 — U Thant says UN cannot ignore threats to world peace.

June 15 — South Africa denies police threw grenades; used tear gas only.

June 16 — RFK says racial strife greatest problem of our time.

June 16 — Kaunda of Zambia asks UN for standby troops from Middle East; tension rises higher in Zambia; collapse of economy feared.

June 17 — Zambian foreign minister Kapepwe flies to Dar es Salaam.

June 17 — Zambezi Valley: Zimbabwe African National Union (Rhodesia) guerrillas ambushed Rhodesian security police, killing 19 with land mines.

June 18 — White miners seize control of copperbelt; ask Rhodesian help.

June 19 — Rioting continues in Lusaka; Kaunda plane stops in Nairobi on return from London.

June 20 — Tanzanian battalion proceeding to Mbeya; China offers volunteers to Tanzania; Nyerere vacillates.

June 20 — Salisbury: Defense Minister Du Pont announces Rhodesian establishment of 5-mile perimeter inside Zambia along Zambian-Rhodesian border; cites incident of June 17 as reason for "this basically defensive move." Salisbury gripped by war fever; rumors of military action toward Lusaka and/or copperbelt.

The game begins at this point in time. Game action is summarized in Appendix E.

APPENDIX D

RESUME OF EVENTS OF THE TEAM REPRESENTING THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, PME '67

(Written by the player representing Haile Selassie of Ethiopia)

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) group was probably the most varied of any in the international game because it was composed of the heads of several states. Unlike the other groups, the purposes of the members would not always be the same. It was not obvious that the group could ever agree on any question.

We held three pre-game meetings. In the first two we set up political, economic, and military subgroups to plan OAU objectives upon which all the OAU members could agree. The meetings were also to familiarize the members with each other and with the information sources. At the third meeting, held the night before the game, responses to various crises were discussed. It was decided to play the super-powers off against each other if possible. We would try to get aid from the Soviets and then help from the United States to balance the Soviet influence.

At the beginning of the game the group met to discuss what would be done about the Zambian invasion. Ethiopia had already mobilized while Zambia was appealing for British aid and a Security Council meeting. The group had assumed that the perimeter was unbroken and the British contingent at Kariba Dam was eliminated. This was one of the many times we had to make decisions on inadequate information.

As a result of the invasion, we united and formed a military expedition to free Zambia. We also arranged to blow up a pipeline in Mozambique. At the same time we were arranging for USSR arms. By the time the OAU force arrived in Zambia the Rhodesians had retreated. The group then had a source of arms, food, and medicine from the U.S. to be used for the army instead of the Zambian people, and an assembled army. It was decided to pour arms into all colonial areas and generally to step up guerrilla activities. Also, it was decided to invade South West Africa.

At this point the game ended for the night.

Saturday was spent fighting in Namib (South West Africa, renamed) and finally getting a settlement by means of a United Nations peace-keeping force. The major powers had recognized Namib and we felt that the OAU group had won a major victory. The group was preparing to start working on the Angolan problem when the game ended.

The group played sometimes as individual countries and at times as the OAU. Everyone had regional interests as well as OAU interests. For this reason most of the messages that arrived could be read by anyone. Whenever a news release arrived all activity stopped as it was read aloud. The group realized the importance of everyone knowing what was happening. The end result was a general feeling of victory. The small powers had played the major powers off against each other and had come out ahead. Revolution was brewing in the colonies and Namib had been established.

APPENDIX E: RESUME OF EVENTS DURING PME '67

In 1967 more than 12,000 messages were processed through the two control boards. The control boards' recapping scenarios are written under great pressure and contain a great deal of information. The international scenarios are reprinted here to give the reader some idea of the kinds of activities that occurred in Caltech's PME '67. The domestic scenario (omitted here to avoid confusion) followed a similar pattern, but tended to deal more with "personalities" of national figures.

Please note that the simulated sequence of events invented during PME '67 should not be construed in any manner whatsoever as predictive of future actual official "positions," policies or actions either of the United States or of any foreign government to which PME '67 alludes for its purely role playing purposes.

INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO: PERIOD 1 BEGINS JUNE 20, 1968

The situation in South West Africa has not changed significantly. The U.S. Sixth Fleet (southern portion) remains in the South Atlantic. South Africa has made no move regarding blockade of fishing interests. South African government overjoyed at lack of U.S. government--and especially U.S. civil rights groups--concern for issues in South West Africa. African nationalists within South Africa feel that OAU nations talk a lot but in the showdown over South West they have put no pressure on U.S. government.

The Rhodesian government successfully disengaged their troops from north of Zambezi River.

British reinforcements in Zambia now occupy north bank of Kariba Dam. The dam is functioning. Rhodesia pleased at success of its protection of dam and withdrawal.

Maoists are in strong control of China and the ability of China to act is enhanced.

Kurdish tribesmen are active, reportedly with Soviet help in northern Iraq.

Ethiopia has made extensive military preparations.

Close South African ties continue.

Financial circles in London worried that S.A. may shift gold bullion sales to France. Many rumors.

British government appears to have made many moves to position troops, men, Polaris submarine, etc. Details and dispositions are lacking.

Soviet moves reported involving trawlers in Red Sea, also near Somaliland.

China appears to be offering Nyerere military aid, British advise against it. Issue in doubt.

British have strengthened forces in Aden, but severe rioting followed.

Portuguese have sent considerable troops from Portugal; Mozambique strengthened.

Some African nation's ship appears to have picked up men off Cabinda, ship now believed off Walvis Bay...en route around Cape of Good Hope.

France tested hydrogen bomb. China claims the same.

Vorster reported to be privately jubilant at U.S., U.K. "understanding" and success of Rhodesians in withdrawing.

Nkrumah was assassinated in Dar es Salaam--rumor that Ghana behind it.

INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO: PERIOD 2 BEGINS AUGUST 1

Following the Republican Convention of 1968 and a tumultuous spring and early summer on the international scene, the general world picture appeared to reflect a great American concentration upon domestic politics. Many students of the international scene such as Le Monde, the Swiss Review in Zurich, and the Beaverbrook press accused the U.S. of retreating into a kind of quadrennial isolationism.

The international scene was titillated by the distress of the Ghanaian corvette which picked up trained saboteurs in Rio Muni, sailed around to Mozambique, and then was ordered by Ghana to return home. They got as far as Durban harbor and asked permission from their headquarters to request fuel oil. They were told to martyr themselves. The crew offered to change places with the Ghanaian cabinet. Later, the South Africans towed the ships in and took them over.

The main thrust internationally after the successful Rhodesian disentanglement at Kariba, and the Portuguese strengthening of their Mozambique forces, was the growing OAU drive to mount a real military attack on South Africa, apparently aimed at first capturing Otavi in South West Africa.

Although a Chinese ship with several thousand volunteers stood off the Tanzania coast, Nyerere never would give permission to land. The Soviets rapidly expanded their interests in Africa, especially after their access to the Persian Gulf. Soviet arms and planes flowed steadily into Africa. An apparent condition of their supply of arms was a rigorous insistence that the OAU countries exclude all Chinese men and most materiel. Most of the OAU countries involved are now much better equipped with light weaponry.

The United States has gained considerable good will among OAU countries while in no way slowing their cooperation with the Soviet Union. The OAU has satisfied the U.S. to gain food by denying the Chinese and gained arms from the USSR by denying the Chinese a foothold. Tentative U.S.-U.K. effort to split the OAU has not been successful.*

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*This is a confused sentence taken from actual message and an example of how a control board can act.

France has played it cool, sharply boosted by her gold supply and trade with South Africa while refusing to be drawn into major problem areas. Many French are saying that de Gaulle could walk between Clay and Folley and pick the gold out of both their teeth without being touched.

The Portuguese have covered their defenses well--alert patrolling anticipated oil line problems and no serious damage has been done. They offered a treaty to Rhodesia and South Africa, but the South Africans have so far refused to ratify it. Rhodesia has not refused or accepted the treaty--although knowing that the South Africans had refused. No serious threat appeared to Portuguese interests, although they have had little success with vigorous protests at the United Nations.

Great Britain has played a major role within the Western powers. Her major troop commitments in Zambia and economic aid have strained her budget severely. Kenya vacillated on allowing British troops in Nairobi. The British base at Aden is no longer possible for staging. The supply of British troops in Zambia is now parlous. All of the British Strategic Reserve is committed to Africa.

The Soviet Union appears to be friendly towards the United States--and hostile to China. Because the USSR is so clearly the country to which the OAU owes its strength massed for assault on South Africa, the Soviets hope to pick up several favorable countries. South African mineral resources oriented to trade with the USSR are a pleasant prospect. If the U.S. will join us, so it is rumored the Soviets believe, we will have an easy time with South Africa and still remain top dog in Africa cleansed of white chauvinism.

Rhodesia remains tranquil. There have been no assaults such as marked 1967. Attempts on lives of cabinet ministers have been easily blocked.

French neutrality on South West and commercial gains in Africa have outweighed all other actions except the increase of troops at Djibouti.

The main U.S. non-monetary help to Zambia has been anti-aircraft guns for Zambia--over Dirksen's protests--and rumors that Pan African Congress exile Nana Mahomo, acting for the OAU, has been promised three Lockheed C-5s (other reports said smaller planes capable of using shorter runways) by or through the Central Intelligence Agency. There are no U.S. troops in Africa although Marines are aboard the elements of the Sixth Fleet in the South Atlantic.

South Africa has protested vigorously over U.S. and U.K. action, crowds have been dispersed before the U.S. embassy in Pretoria especially, but there has been no precipitate action. The increase in trade with France, growing out of the bullion deal, is part of a general withdrawal of trade

with Britain. South Africa has made extensive contacts to shift trade away from Britain. The U.K. has told S.A. not to worry too much about the loss of fishing waters but the South Africans have continued to work out an alternative trade pattern. There are reports of South Africa lending money and possibly unmarked planes to Portugal. South African liberals gave money and supplies and a number of doctors went to Zambia and helped people injured in the rioting. There are good prospects of a common market in southern Africa.

China has cut the water supply at Hong Kong. The British are getting by on desalination and rationing. Offers of aid to Nyerere seem to be accepted but Nyerere doesn't move. There are doubts expressed to the technical knowledge among leading Chinese policy-makers. However, the government has succeeded in ending the anti-Mao forces and China is in position to play a more positive role in foreign affairs. Impartial observers have awarded the Chinese diplomatic corps (pardon the expression) the team they would most like to come home to.

The cohesiveness of the OAU has impressed all observers. "Astounding" was the comment in Reston's new column in The Reporter. "Fission we are not wishin'" seems to be the slogan. Algeria has sent 5,000 troops (claimed) to attack Angola through Zambia. The report seems inflated. However, Morocco has moved troops to its disputed border with Algeria. Claims of 3,000 Soviet troops are also disputed. There may be 800 Soviet advisers. The OAU claim that all weapons and advisers are under African control seems reasonable--but the debt to the USSR cannot be denied. It is also questionable whether the OAU knows how many of its own "leaders" have been "bought" by the Soviet diplomatic offensive. All in all, the Soviets have done a brilliant job and yet the OAU can also claim that it is using the Soviets and not vice versa.

On July 28th there was a revolt in Harar and troops opposed to Haile Selassie began a march on the Ethiopian capital. The absence of the best 5,000 Ethiopian troops to the south had rendered the defense of Addis Ababa difficult. Ras Imre, pretender to the throne, is reported to have the support of the educated elite. In fact, only 2,000 Ethiopian troops have arrived in Broken Hill. Others were stranded in Mbeya when their transport broke down.

The OAU attack on U.S. and U.K. refusal to support revolutionary groups in Africa has led to many volunteers from "socialist" countries to join the OAU crusade. At best informed guesses, there are some 12,000 OAU troops and allies in Zambia. (The claim of 30,000 is obviously too large.) The feeding and supply of the troops is not easy for the hard-pressed supply lines to Zambia. The OAU troops are restless--let us press on or go home seems the mood.

Alone among OAU nations, the Egyptians seem to have cleared their back yard of problems. Their offer, accepted by the Israelis, to give Israeli ships transit rights of the Suez Canal in exchange for the non-aggression treaty, has freed Egypt of a "stab in the back" threat. Further, the Nasser withdrawal from Yemen has released troops for action further south.

Unconfirmed reports suggest that OAU troops have moved into Angola and are headed for South West Africa. The OAU strategy would seem to be that the British troops stationed at the Kariba Dam would guard their rear (and Zambia) against Rhodesian action, while they make a west-end run through Angola. The Portuguese emphasis upon Mozambique has led to a greater concentration of available forces on the Tanzanian border. Those Portuguese troops in Angola are largely in the north. S. L. A. Marshall, military analyst of the Detroit Free Press, has pointed out that the OAU movement is brilliantly conceived but it does move troops through open and essentially dry country where air action would be most effective--if undertaken.

INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO: PERIOD 3 BEGINS SEPTEMBER 1

At the beginning of August the OAU with strong Soviet help was poised in Zambia prepared to strike across southern Angola to South West Africa. However, there were no troop movements and gradually as the days passed the South Africans strengthened their forces along the Cunene. The Portuguese gradually landed 10,000 additional forces in southern Angola.

The OAU force was weakened by the withdrawal of the Ethiopian contingent flown from Lusaka by British planes. Remaining OAU troops are Algerian, Egyptian, Tanzanian, a few Kenyan, Nigerian DC-3s, U.S. anti-aircraft--but no one to operate them.

A few incidents of sabotage in Mozambique and Rhodesia.

Viet Nam: Hanoi approached CIA with proposal for cease-fire by secret bargaining. Insisted on NLF being represented. There was some U.S. quid pro quo but we don't know just what the U.S. offered. Saigon very worried. Ky threatening to take over government. Says reunification should come through march on north. U.S. has offered 2 billion to rebuild all of Viet Nam.

U.K. has withdrawn from Aden. Operating very poorly from waterless island at head of Indian Ocean near Aden--more effectively from Aldabra Islands.

U.S. ships are off Tanzania.

Chinese and their friends have captured Dar es Salaam while Nyerere was on one of his many trips--this one to meet in Moscow. Rest of Tanzania strongly behind Nyerere but Zanzibar-Dar axis has some real strength.

U.S. fleet still in South Atlantic.

OAU apparently unable to decide on push towards Otavi or guerrilla activity elsewhere. OAU unified but not moving--Egyptians appear to have dominant voice--due to greater military commitment.

U.K. has committed all reserves.

Portugal has succeeded in walling off rebel corridors in Angola and Mozambique. Heavily committed with troops in Africa.

SWANU has merged with SWAPO and there is an accord on an SWA government in exile. U.K., U.S. favor UN action; there is refusal to consider OAU troops as UN troops by the Western Powers.

INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO: PERIOD 4--OCTOBER 15-NOVEMBER 2

Chinese water restrictions on Hong Kong have become critical due to pollution of New Provinces Water Reservoir. Serious water rationing riots.

The OAU spearhead of troops have captured Ondanjua and Tsumeb and are moving on Windhoek. The Russian armaments are highly effective against the South Africans. The numbers involved are 13,000 OAU plus 1,000 Yugoslavs, 600 Soviet advisers. No Chinese. Four MIGs based on Livingstone have been shot down by the South African Air Force. Minister Botha praised the airmen who were like the RAF to Britain in its hour of need. The OAU troops are running short of supplies.

The South Africans denied any atrocities in regard to civil rights people. Red Cross International Chairman Johnson said there was no raping. The South Africans sent all of those captured--three were actually killed--on an Italian ship to Europe.

A Soviet move against Zanzibar from Dar es Salaam was stopped by President Nyerere in Dar es Salaam after a violent altercation with the Soviet senior officer.

Portugal continues to send supplies over the Benguela Railway to Zambia. Curiously, some of these supplies are later used in Angola and South West Africa.

France's economy hits an all-time high. The necklines at the Lido plummeted to an all-time low.

Soviet recognition of SWAPO exile government. U.S. backs a UN force but withholds support of the OAU Russian armed venture. U.K. caught in fire between South Africa and OAU--withholding support for action. British supply problem for small number of troops in Zambia difficult. Nearest base is Aldabra Islands.

Eritrea group requests admission to UN and OAU. Chinese recognize. Haile Selassie on air to denounce unfaithful army officers. USSR recognizes Eritrea--sending aid. Eritrea appeals to Nasser for recognition. U.S. State Department has not acted. It has, however, recognized Capuo as the SWAPO leader of the African government in the north of South West Africa. OAU has recognized Capuo. Country to be called "Namib."

Nixon has repeated statements on southern Africa visit that the U.S. has been out-thought in Namib and that Soviet direction of Tanzania and Namib not to mention copper in Zambia is direct threat to U.S. safety. Mexico recognizes Eritrea.

INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO: PERIOD 5--NOVEMBER 15-DECEMBER 15

World developments in recent weeks have been as critical as any since the Hungarian-Suez weeks of danger.

The fighting in South West Africa/Namib has been heavy. South African paratroopers have cleared part of the Caprivi strip. Inexperience in warfare, lack of discipline, problems of communications repair have all hampered the OAU forces. Russian technical help has been considerable --brilliant technical designs of stripfields, etc. But petrol supply all the way from Dar es Salaam by tank truck and some by plane has been at a high cost. Truck breakdowns have been frequent over the rough roads or no roads at all.

In part of northern South West the S.A. government has set up an independent Ovambostan government and it has asked for admission to the OAU and the UN. Russian planes with Russian pilots have six times heavily bombed South West facilities including the airfield at Windhoek. Twelve South African planes were destroyed on the ground. The OAU casualties are estimated at 3,400. Morale is poor among many but

fiercely determined among others. There have been fights between Egyptian and Nigerian troops over racial slurs.

In Nigeria itself, a Hausa battalion has occupied the line of rail well into Iboland. Public opinion in Enugu is weary of the war and the Ibos want their troops back so that they can concentrate on economic development. Gowon so far has stood firm.

An Israeli ship--under the agreement made by Nasser--was fired on while at anchor at Port Said. Nasser disclaimed any government interference. An underground Egyptian group has succeeded in calling a general strike in Alexandria in protest of Nasserian love of the rapers of Palestine.

Asmara has been placed under Ethiopian martial law with 5,000 British troops ousting the Eritreans. The latter have appealed to the UN and charged Ethiopia with genocide.

Zanzibar is quiet but still in Chinese hands. Soviet strength in Tanzania has grown as required to try to prosecute the war of liberation in Namib.

Portugal's threat to move on Zambia appears serious--Zambia has not complied with the Portuguese demands. No copper has moved for some months and there is depression threatened in the U.K. copper industry. The pound has slipped dangerously.

Observers point out that the U.K., USSR and U.S., having recognized Namib in exile, are now faced with a serious defeat, one which could mean the collapse of the UN. The major military asset not committed is the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the South Atlantic. Whether the USSR will escalate still more its efforts is debatable--or if it does, will the U.S. allow it? U.S. hesitation after the accidental sinking of the destroyer and the impending election may now end. However, there is optimism in South Africa that the U.S. will help to settle the affair peaceably. Some people in S.A., such as M.P. Helen Suzman, think that S.A. has been so scared by events that it will liberalize its policies--but there is no real hint of an end to oppressive laws except the offer to Ovambostan--far more autonomy--real freedom--than that enjoyed by the Transkei.

APPENDIX F: READING MATERIAL RELATING TO AFRICA USED FOR THE PME 1967

In addition to making some 3,000 books on southern Africa available to the teams and players, the PME committee distributed to all teams and most players ephemeral material of particular interest. These were kept current up to the time of the game. In addition, a large current wall map of Africa was given to each team.

A Partial List

American Metal Climax Corporation (AMAX), Summary of Press Coverage (February 10, 1967).	Congo
AMAX, Summary of Press Coverage (March 20, 1967).	South Africa
AMAX, Summary of Press Coverage (February 14, 1967).	Zambia
AMAX, Summary of Press Coverage (February 20, 1967).	Zambia
AMAX, Summary of Press Coverage (March 17, 1967).	Zambia
Christian Science Monitor: Special report.	South Africa aids new states.
Foell, Earl W. (Staff Correspondent of Christian Science Monitor)	South West Africa prestige factor rides on UN controversy.
Heard, Raymond. (Correspondent for Sunday Times.)	Wants "new deal" for non-Whites in their S.A. factories.
Imishue, Robinson W.	South West Africa: an international problem [Institute of Race Relations, London]. Pall Mall Press, 1965.
Intelligence Digest. (March 12, 1967).	The attack on America.
International Court of Justice. The Hague (July 18, 1966).	Judgment of the South West Africa case by the International Court of Justice.

Leiss, Amelia C., ed.	Apartheid and United Nations collective measures: an analysis [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace] N.Y., United Nations, 1965.
News from South Africa (Information Service of South Africa), no. 8, February 23, 1967.	No conditions to U.S. ship's docking.
News from South Africa (Information Service of South Africa), May 1967.	Proposal for self-government for Ovamboland, South West Africa.
Organisation for African Unity	Annual report of the OAU submitted to the meeting on February 28, 1967.
South Africa Foundation.	South Africa and United States policy. Johannesburg, 1966.
South African Institute of Race Relations.	Speech presented at the 37th Annual Council meeting of the Institute, held at Port Elizabeth, January 17-20, 1967.
South African Scope (South African Government Information). February 1966.	South West Africa issue.
South West Africa National United Coordinating Council of Foreign Missions. November 14, 1966.	Looking back and planning for the future.
South West Africa National United Front Permanent Delegation to the United Nations.	Opening statement of the Delegation's progress report covering the second phase and the UN General Assembly's 21st session, N.Y.
South West Africa National United Front Permanent Delegation to the United Nations. October 10, 1966.	Press statement.

Sparks, Allister. (Foreign Editor, Rand Daily Mail, South Africa).	Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland: The implications of independence.
Spotlight on South Africa. (African National Congress) vol. 5, no. 6 (February 10, 1967).	Editorial: A great revolutionary step forward.
Spotlight on South Africa. (African National Congress) vol. 5, no. 8 (February 24, 1967).	Editorial: Race classification.
Spotlight on South Africa. (African National Congress) vol. 5, no. 9 (March 3, 1967).	Editorial: The evil of our time.
The Star, Johannesburg (November 26, 1966).	"S.A. ready for siege," top priority plan to beat sanctions.
The Star, Johannesburg (February 25, 1967).	Diplomatic offensive by South Africa.
United Nations. Office of Public Information. Press Release WS/281 (February 17, 1967).	South West Africa
United Nations. Security Council. Council on Foreign Relations meeting on Southern Africa: UN and economic issues. (March 15, 1967).	Secretary-General U Thant's first report to the meeting on the operation of sanctions.
United States Congress. House of Representatives. Congressional Record: proceedings and debates of the 90th Congress, 1st session.	Mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, speech of Hon. J. Arthur Younger.
United States. Executive Order 11322.	Relating to trade and other transactions involving Southern Rhodesia.
Zambia. Permanent Mission to the United Nations.	Letter (of February 23, 1967) from the permanent representative of Zambia addressed to the Secretary-General.
Zimbabwe. African Peoples Union (October 24, 1966).	Z.A.N.U. Secret plot with Wilson.

APPENDIX G: SAMPLE OF MESSAGE FORM USED FOR THE PME 1967

Message Form

CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY POLITICAL – MILITARY EXERCISE ☐ OPEN ☐ COVERT ☐ TOP SECRET	TO:	FROM:
	TIME SENT:	PERIOD:

Open Messages are for world consumption.
Covert messages are for party indicated, but 10% may be intercepted.
Top Secret messages are for party indicated; only 1% may be intercepted, but delivery may be held up.

READ BY:	AT TIME:

GIVE WHITE, YELLOW, AND PINK COPIES TO MESSENGER

KEEP GOLDENROD COPY FOR FILE